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# I. F. Stone's Weekly

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# The Early Distant Warning Out of the Congo

*United Nations, N.Y.*

It is a pity more Americans could not have seen the events of the past week through African and Negro eyes from the vantage point of the UN debate on the Congo. The summary dismissal of charges against the accused killers of the three civil rights workers in Mississippi, the refusal to hear the confession by one of the accused, could not have come at a more terrible moment. Mr. Botsio of Ghana, on the opening day of the Congo debate, had already told the Security Council that under international law the U.S. was no more entitled to intervene in the Congo than Ghana in the American South where "Afro-American inhabitants" are "from time to time tortured and murdered for asserting their legitimate rights." Next day came the news from Meridian, like a flash of lightning before a storm, revealing sharply the true lineaments of the racial landscape, with the colored man everywhere a creature of lesser concern, even to white men of good will.

## Their Common Bond

Nothing could be more unwise for our country than to treat the Congo debate as another inning in the cold war, calculating its effects on the UN dues quarrel and China membership issue, as if following a familiar sporting event on a score-card. The protests to the Security Council were downgraded in our press as coming from "left-leaning" African states, the implication being that ideology explained it all. This is dangerous self-delusion. The common bond that unites Negro and Arab, African and Asian, Hindu and Chinese, and the whole underworld of mixed blood in Latin America, is the all too fresh recollection of humiliation at the hands of the white man. This is what the Congo episode stirred up and this is something they do not need to read about in pamphlets from Peking. There never was a sharper cleavage at the UN between white and colored than on the Congo question. Intervention to protect lives and property—gunboat diplomacy—has too long been the traditional excuse of imperialism in Latin America and Eurasia. The Western plea of humanitarianism created solidarity among those accustomed to being regarded as not quite human. Suddenly Africa was talking about Mississippi and Cuba, as if in a world-wide colonial and racial upsurge.

Mr. Beovagui of Guinea protested to the Security Council that the U.S. and Belgium had tried for weeks before the rescue at Stanleyville to impose a military solution on the Congo while the African States were seeking to bring about a political reconciliation. He complained that white mercenaries "under the protection of U.S. military planes piloted by Cubans recruited and financed by the U.S.—soldiers of fortune trying to redeem their fiasco in the Bay of Pigs" had massacred Congolese civilians and "bombarded cities held by the forces of the National Liberation Front . . . as in Albertville and Bakavu" without stirring any indignation in the West. "Was it," he asked, "because the thousands of Congolese citizens murdered by the South Africans, the Rhodesians, the Belgians and the Cuban refugee adventurers had dark skins just like the colored U.S. citizens murdered in Mississippi?" This is a bitterness we would do well to heed. The debate was a Distant Early Warning Line on which we may hear in time the approach of a conflict more serious than the anti-Communist cold war with which we continue to be obsessed. Mississippi, Rhodesia, South Africa and Brazil each in their own time and their own way may bring about a new polarization between white and colored, rich and poor, threatening a war in which our ICBM's would stand impotent, a war from which all mankind would lose.

We exaggerate the divisions among the African States. Senegal, with Liberia and Nigeria, is counted "on our side." The speech made by Mr. Thiam of Senegal to the General Assembly a week earlier should put us on guard against such over-simplifications. Mr. Thiam did indeed address some perceptive advice to his fellow Africans. "Very often," he pointed out, "it is we ourselves who start the cold war in our countries. Because of internal rivalries between men and different political tendencies, we invite others to interfere in our domestic affairs." He said interventions are approved or condemned, depending on whether they were from Washington or Moscow, without concern for the principle of non-intervention, "bringing into question our independence and our sovereignty." But Senegal's spokesman is no Western mouthpiece. He opposed expulsion of the Soviets on the debt issue. He warned that the chaos in the Congo was a preview of what would happen in Angola unless Portugal unlike Belgium began to train native cadres to take over. He ended by touching on issues more fundamental than color: the con-

*(Continued on Page Four)*

### View from The Lower (and Darker) Depths

**"The most pressing problem, as far as my government sees things, is that of poverty. . . . The poor cannot be persuaded to wait. They are no longer politically illiterate either. They do not have to be educated to listen in on their own or their neighbor's radio sets telling them, with a great deal of vanity, about the staggering sums of money misspent on this or that scheme—I need not mention nuclear weapons, studies of outer space and what-not, things which do not help people to live happily or become human beings in the strict sense of the word, things which will only add to the destruction of civilization. . . . And poverty nowadays seems to be the lot of the colored. A most alarming phenomenon. The indignity they suffered over the centuries is receding, but their political emancipation was only the first step on their long road to redemption in the fullest sense of the word."**

*—Mr. Maghoub (Sudan), in UN Gen. Assem. Nov. 10*



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**The New Gore-Ribicoff "Dynamic Cost-Sharing Plan" A Hidden Snare for The Aged**

# Time to Challenge Timid Liberals For A Stronger Medicare Program

The number one item on President Johnson's legislative agenda should not be to pass medicare but to re-write it. The version the Senate approved last August is not merely inadequate; it is a fraud. In the closing moments of that debate Senators Ribicoff (*D., Conn.*) and Gore (*D., Tenn.*) quietly added a provision that makes the aged and not the government responsible for paying future increases in the cost of hospitalization. The provision is delicately being called "The Dynamic Cost Sharing Plan." We asked an actuary at the Social Security Administration to translate that for us into dollars and cents. This is what we learned:

## Upping The Costs For The Aged

Hospital costs are increasing at the rate of 7% a year. At this rate they will double (from $40 to $80 a day) within ten years. Because of cost "sharing," the aged will then be paying for hospitalization under medicare what they are now paying for it without medicare. Social Security now taxes only the first $4800 of a worker's wages. If Congress chooses to increase this wage base to keep up with the 4% annual rise in wages—something which it has refused to do for the past several years—then the benefits of medicare will still be negated though in fifteen years, instead of ten. The objective of cost sharing was to pacify Rep. Wilbur Mills (*D., Ark.*), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. He has been arguing that because hospital costs are rising so rapidly medicare would soon bankrupt all social security programs. Mills is right, but the solution lies not in further pauperizing the aged but in attacking the problem of hospital costs.

This is what the liberals in Congress have been too timid to do. Medicare in fact will probably cause costs to spiral at a rate higher than 7% a year. Like Blue Cross, Blue Shield and most commercial plans, it is a hospital-centered program: it provides benefits (except for some home care) only for hospitalization or for nursing-home care after hospitalization. This encourages over-utilization of hospitals and higher costs. Reformers in the medical field have long been urging more treatment of patients "on the hoof rather than between the sheets." But the insurance plans have generally refused to offer more comprehensive coverage out of deference to the wishes of the hospitals and doctors.

More comprehensive health insurance is a matter of lives as well as money. The just released report of the President's Commission on Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke stresses the importance of early detection in combatting these three greatest killers. (They account for about 7 out of every 10 deaths.) Almost three out of four strokes can be detected before they occur and many can then be prevented. So can many forms of heart disease and cancer, if they are detected early. What the Commission does not say is that the entire system of hospital-centered health insurance discourages early detection. Most people go to hospitals only when already ill. Preventive medicine requires a health insurance system that encourages periodic check-ups by paying out-of-hospital physician fees. This in turn may mean paying doctors a fixed salary.

There never was a better time for a comprehensive medicare bill. Inside the House Ways and Means Committee the Southern Democrat-Republican alliance that bottled-up medicare is about to be broken. Speaker McCormack has given his approval to a plan for increasing the Democratic representation from 15 to 17 and reducing the Republican from 10 to 8. Provided the two Democratic appointments are liberals, the Southern Democrat-Republican alliance will be reduced from a majority of 13 to a minority of 11. Instead of pressing this advantage, some liberals are urging further compromise.

On December 11, Senator McGovern proposed "give and take conference sessions" with the AMA. Somebody should remind him that the AMA announced at its last meeting that it will not compromise. And somebody should remind the AMA that their House Of Delegates once indorsed a compulsory national health insurance program. "The time has come when we can no longer resist the social movement," its Board of Trustees reported in 1916, "and it is better that we should initiate the necessary changes than have them forced on us."

### While the Sick Are Neglected

**"'We face so many real threats,' Dr. Brown said, 'that we can't afford to occupy ourselves with imaginary ones.' Among the 'imaginary threats' of the last few years was the mythical bomber gap and the prospective missile gap that never materialized. These false alarms caused the U.S. to invest billions in the DEW Line, liquid fueled ICBM's and other devices that are now either obsolete or of little value."**

*—Dr. Harold Brown, Director of Defense Research at the Pentagon, New York Herald-Tribune, Dec. 6.*

## COFO Volunteers Explain How HUAC Aids The White Supremacist in Mississippi

**"HUAC and similar legislative investigating committees have been libel-free centers for false accusations; they have dignified irresponsible smears as 'official' government findings. They have thus promoted among the white community in Mississippi the belief that civil rights protest is synonymous with subversion and treason. The Mississippi press and public officials consistently smeared participants in the 1964 Summer Project; they relied primarily on HUAC 'citations' for their smears.**

**"The pervasive feeling among white Mississippians that the civil rights movement is 'red-inspired' enables Mississippians to dismiss civil rights as illegitimate, to avoid admitting the existence of the intolerable conditions of the Mississippi Negro which give rise to such protest, and to rationalize violence and economic intimidation against civil rights workers as 'patriotic acts'."**

**"Having witnessed the workings of a closed society—where the First Amendment is not operative, where white as well as Negro is labelled 'subversive' if he dissents—we feel more deeply the need to oppose threats to free speech and free association in the rest of the country. HUAC, condemning ideas and associations as 'Un-American', is the fountainhead of the threat to an open society. HUAC denies what we went to Mississippi for."**

*—Petition To Abolish HUAC, signed by 142 workers in the Mississippi Summer Project, Dec. 10.*

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**The Senate's No. 1 Peace Champion Sees Vietnam as LBJ's "First Great Test"**

# Morse Fears Johnson Administration Swinging Toward Goldwater Policy

**By Senator Wayne Morse ***

A few weeks ago, people laughed when Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater talked blithely of "interdicting" the routes from North Vietnam into South Vietnam, especially by use of chemicals and radiation to defoliate the trees that conceal the jungle trails. But today there is every evidence that the American Ambassador has returned to Saigon from Washington with something very similar to the Goldwater prescription for the civil war in South Vietnam. A traditional signpost that points to this conclusion is the increased emphasis upon infiltration of men and supplies from North Vietnam through Laos into South Vietnam. This new emphasis is in total contrast to the previous official testimony on this point presented to the Foreign Relations Committee. In fact, no new evidence has been offered to change the assessment that the great bulk of the Vietcong rebels were local residents, that close to 90% of their weapons were captured from government sources, and that their civil war would continue whether or not it received aid or leadership from North Vietnam.

## Mistake Admitted But Perpetuated

But the 100% expansion of the South Vietnamese Air Force and the drumbeating in both Washington and Saigon about alleged infiltration from North Vietnam, suggest to these experienced ears that air attacks by U.S. jets flown by U.S. and Vietnamese pilots will soon commence in Laos, as they may already have begun in the de-militarized zone of North Vietnam. One of the most astonishing elements in the discussions of this policy is the number of Washington officials who will tell you that getting into South Vietnam was a hideous mistake, but once involved we have no choice but to continue.

It has cost American taxpayers $5½ billion, exclusive of the cost of our own forces, to try to keep a Western foothold in Southeast Asia. Journalistic spokesmen for the Defense Department are vehement in declaiming that to lose our foothold in Vietnam is to lose all we fought for in the Pacific in World War II. Nothing is further from the truth. Before World War II, the most we ever had was the Philippines, which we voluntarily relinquished in 1935 and formally freed in 1945. Since 1945, we have maintained base rights in the Philippines, as in Japan; and we have kept a base in Okinawa, won by conquest. Our present "foothold" in South Korea is a legacy of World War II, not its objective.

What these Defense Department spokesmen really have in mind are not the strictly American footholds and bases in that part of the world but the whole network of French, Dutch and British possessions that in World War II were freely used by Americans in the prosecution of the war against Japan. The possibility that these staging areas should no longer be available for use at our pleasure vis-a-vis China is for many of them so unthinkable that they believe it is worth a war to retain at least one of them.

It still is not too late for President Johnson to lead the American people out of this morass. Whether he leads us out or further in will be the first great test of his Administration.

*Abridged from a speech in Denver, Dec. 11.

### Bombing Supply Lines Futile

**"All this talk about blocking Communist supply routes to the Viet Cong operating in South Vietnam with bombs indicates one thing: Somebody has not done his homework on the effectiveness of air assault against supply lines in Korea—or World War II, for that matter. As any Korean veteran can tell you, the Red Chinese sustained a million-man army at the far end of a 300-mile supply route in the teeth of the best aerial effort the U.S. could mount. . . . There were 8 highways leading from Manchuria south to the 38th parallel and for a solid month aircraft from the Air Force, Marines and Navy plastered all of them. . . . The Chinese simply used manpower to make temporary road repairs at night and quickly moved their trucks under cover of darkness. . . . By the time the all-out assault was brought to a halt—no targets left apparently—there was no indication that the fighting abilities of the Chinese troops had been drastically impaired. They were still able to mount an offensive in which they could fire as much as 100,000 rounds of artillery ammunition in one 3-day fight."**

*—Bem Price, AP, in Wash. Post, Dec. 13.*

## The AP's No. 1 Man in Saigon Reveals How The News From Vietnam Is Prettied Up

**"Frequently, sins of dishonesty by the Vietnamese were compounded by U.S. officials. As a trivial case in point, the Viet Cong released two U.S. Army prisoners on May 1, 1962, after holding them in the jungle for several weeks. The idea that the Communists would voluntarily release prisoners ran counter to the Saigon propaganda line, and its information directors let it be known that a detachment of Vietnamese had overwhelmed a Viet Cong camp and liberated the Americans. This statement, with details about the valor of the government unit's commander, was passed along to correspondents by the U.S. military information office. Some news stories spoke of the government troops "slashing their way into a Viet Cong camp," and made the whole thing sound like a cowboy movie, in which the good guys wiped out the bad guys.**

**"A few of us smelled a rat. The Viet Cong had never before let themselves get surprised into a jam like that, and it seemed an odd coincidence that the Americans were freed on May 1—a big Communist holiday. It turned out later that the Viet Cong had not only released the two men, but had sent a squad of escorts with them to make sure they got into no further trouble on the way back. . . .**

**"For a long time, U.S. information policy tried to avoid publishing American battle casualties. On one occasion, U.S. military authorities reported to newsmen that an Army enlisted man had 'slightly injured his arm' on 'a training exercise with Vietnamese troops, when he accidentally tripped over a wire.' But about one week later I learned that the man involved was a sergeant friend of mine, and I looked him up at the hospital. It turned out that he'd been on patrol with Vietnamese troops, all right, and he had tripped over a wire. He had tripped because the wire was connected to an electrically detonated Viet Cong land mine, which had blown away half his elbow."**

*—Malcolm Browne, the AP's senior correspondent in Saigon, in* Columbia Journalism Review, *Fall, 1964.*



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# Adlai Could Not Have Made A More Feeble Reply to Che Guevara

*(Continued from Page One)*

tinued fall in the raw material prices on which the ex-colonial countries depend; the damage done them by the one-crop economies imposed under imperialism; "the elementary duty of justice and humanity" which requires the ex-colonizers "not to go away and leave us to pay the bill"; the need for "a new organization of our planet based on a new ethics." This was man's better conscience speaking through Africa.

## Savagery—After Auschwitz?

Mr. Spaak of Belgium defended his country with eloquence. He said he would not attempt to give lessons to black men because after Buchenwald and Auschwitz the white man had no right to give lessons in humanity. He said that in the Nairobi talks, the representative of the rebels had demanded a cease-fire, which Belgium and the U.S. could not obtain because the Leopoldville government opposed it. But Tshombe was put into power by Belgium and the U.S. They could have put pressure on him if they were not themselves opposed to a peaceful settlement which would bring the rebels into the government. Spaak was on stronger ground when he discussed the people Belgium had rescued. He said these were the technical assistants, the professors, the veterinarians, the doctors for whose services the Congo had asked. "They went to the Congo at our request," he said, "and it was because we had a special responsibility toward them that we had to make a special effort in their behalf." How could Africa get the white technical aid it needed if they were to become the hostages of internal struggle?

But one felt that the quarrel had reached that blind stage where neither side hears the other, and each is more concerned with his own grievances than in squarely meeting the issue. The Belgians felt aggrieved that after being asked to come back they were being mistreated and denounced. The Africans remembered Leopold and the horrors of his Congo Free State; this is but yesterday for them. They recalled how the CIA had connived in the overthrow of Lumumba, the Congo's one national leader, and picked that clown, Mobutu, as our strong man. They regard Tshombe as Lumumba's murderer and our puppet and feel as a slight on all of them the headlines about a cannibalism that never occurred. In their rage they forgot that their own savagery to each other in the Congo was worse than anything the white man had done to them.

There never was greater need for the voice of reason. The debate may cost Africa aid it badly needs from the U.S. Congress. The news from the Congo will not make it easy to recruit the technicians it requires. Che Guevara in his green fatigues, symbol of the guerrilla fighters against whom the West has proven powerless, suited the mood of the moment and was given an ovation by the Afro-Asians after a revolutionary speech even the Chinese might have thought a bit sweeping. He was escorted out of the hall by a throng of admiring blacks. Mr. Stevenson could not have made a more foolish reply than calling Guevara "a man with a long Communist and revolutionary record in Latin America." In that atmosphere it sounded to the Europeans as a feeble echo of McCarthy and to the embittered Afro-Asians as a positive accolade.

*Dec. 13, 1964*

## That Two Deaf Nations May Hear Each Other

**Except for the writer Edgar Snow and relatives of Americans imprisoned in China, Dr. Samuel Rosen of New York is the first American in 10 years to be cleared by both sides for a visit to that country. There is a gratifying symbolism in this. This distinguished ear surgeon discovered and perfected the "mobilization of stapes" operation for deafness. Both China and the U.S. need to hear each other again. Dr. Rosen has taught his technique in 27 countries including Egypt and the Soviet Union, where five doctors he instructed have been awarded Lenin Prizes. Dr. Rosen was first invited to China two years ago by its medical association but then the State Dept. said "no." The invitation was renewed last spring, and has not only been approved now but the story was given out by State. We hope it is a harbinger of better relations. Dr. Rosen's favorite proverb is, "If every man would mend a man, the world would soon be mended." He lives by it. We might add, as a grateful postscript, that it was he who operated recently on our right ear, with results that promise to be near-miraculous. We hope to have the other done when he returns.—IFS**

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